DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 232 597 HE 016 521

AUTHOR	Corcoran, Mary; Clark, Shirley M.
TITLE	Professional Socialization and Contemporary Career Attitudes of Three Faculty Generations. AIR 1983 Annual Forum Paper.
SPONS AGENCY	Minnesota Univ., Minneapolis.
PUB DATE	May 83
NOTE	37p.; Paper presented at the Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research (23rd, Toronto, Ontario, May 23-26, 1983).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Career Ladders; College Environment; *College Faculty; Faculty College Relationship; Higher Education; *Job Satisfaction; Organizational Climate; *Productivity; *Scholarship; *Socialization; Teacher Morale; Work Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	*AIR Forum; Research Universities

ABSTRACT

As one aspect of a study of individual and organizational conditions contributing to faculty vitality, the career socialization and current career attitudes of three faculty generations were compared. These generational comparisons were done separately for two groups of tenured university faculty members: (1) a representative group drawn from the humanities, biological sciences, physical sciences, and social science fields; and (2) a selected group of faculty, drawn from the same areas, who had been identified as highly active in teaching, research, and service. The analyses focused on similarities and differences in the professional socialization experiences of the two sets of generational groups that appear to be indicative of career success. The highly active faculty understood that their colleagues expected them to engage in research and scholarly work, and their own interests and preferences ran strongly to research rather than to teaching. At each socialization stage, a general pattern emerged in which the socialization process most favorable to a research university was increasingly evident in successive cohorts of the highly active group. Policy-oriented questions and implications for the university are noted. (Author/SW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED232597

Professional Socialization and Contemporary Career Attitudes of Three Faculty Generations*

Mary Corcoran
Professor of Higher Education
and
Shirley M. Clark
Associate Professor of Education and Sociology
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
U.S.A.

Revised paper presented to the 23rd Annual Forum of The Association for Institutional Research, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, May 24, 1983

HE016 521

*This study was conducted as part of a research program on individual and organizational conditions of faculty vitality supported by the University of Minnesota Grant-in-Aid of Research Program and College of Education Research Funds.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

AIR

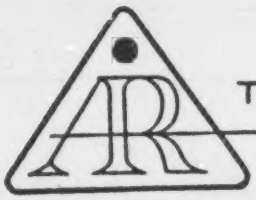
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.



THE ASSOCIATION FOR INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH

This paper was presented at the Twenty-Third Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research held at the Sheraton Centre in Toronto, Ontario, May 23-26, 1983. This paper was reviewed by the AIR Forum Publications Committee and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC Collection of Forum papers.

D. R. Coleman, Chairman
Forum Publication
Advisory Committee

Professional Socialization and Contemporary Career Attitudes

of Three Faculty Generations

Abstract

As one aspect of a study of individual and organizational conditions contributing to faculty vitality, career socialization experiences and current career attitudes of three faculty generations were compared for two groups of tenured University faculty members. The first group was a representative sample drawn from the humanities, biological sciences, physical sciences and social science fields. The second was a selected sample of faculty from the same areas who had been identified by judges as highly active in teaching, research and service. The analyses focus on differences in the professional socialization experiences and career attitudes of the two groups that appear to be indicative of career success. Within these groups the generational trends are also examined.

INTRODUCTION

Recent appraisals of American higher education, including those of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education (1980) and the National Science Foundation Advisory Council (1978), raise the spectre of an anticipated problem of declining faculty vitality. Institutional vitality appears threatened by inability to add the new faculty members who are likely to bring fresh ideas as well as specialization in developing fields, leaving a "graying" faculty, declining in productivity and unable to respond to new demands. From a national perspective there is concern about the consequences of a "lost generation of scholars" (Radner and Kuh, 1978).

Although some positive suggestions for institutional policy developments that would alleviate faculty quality decline have been made, as for example those of Linnell and Svinicki (1978), most development efforts focus almost entirely on instruction, and tend to ignore the development of faculty as scholars and members of professional and academic communities. Organizational conditions that shape and structure faculty careers are also largely ignored. There is considerable evidence of overgeneralization, with problems of obsolescence which concern engineering and science fields much too quickly extended to faculties at large, despite the quite different pace of change in other fields.

Reflection on this situation, in our own university and elsewhere, led to an investigation of individual and organizational conditions for productive, creative faculty work. In previous papers, we have considered the problem of defining faculty vitality as a researchable concept (Clark, Boyer, and Corcoran, 1983), and the relationship between career socialization experiences and vitality characteristics (Clark and Corcoran, 1983). This paper extends that analysis to compare the experiences of faculty members who differ not only in chronological age, but also in the historical context of formative experiences of college and graduate study, and, perhaps most importantly, in the period when

they embarked on careers as faculty members.

This paper involves considerations of several poorly defined concepts, including vitality, career socialization, and faculty generations. Yet, as Bacharach and Lawler (1980) point out in their exposition on power -- an important but imprecise concept to be sure -- the theory construction literature of the last 15 years reveals that ill-defined terms often:

> (1) reveal the complexity and multidimensionality of phenomena that might otherwise be treated in an oversimplified or unidimensional manner, (2) serve as integrative devices for analyzing seemingly disparate ideas, and (3) lead to more specific well-defined ideas (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980, p. 14).

We also found that a vague concept, which vitality certainly is, could be used as a heuristic, sensitizing us to such potentially relevant predictors as the socialization experience of faculty generational cohorts.

Faculty and Institutional Vitality

Several writers who have struggled with the meaning of vitality as it applies to late 20th Century higher education credit John W. Gardner (1963, 1978) with stimulating their thinking (Peterson & Loye, 1967; Ebben & Maher, 1979; Maher, 1982; Centra, 1983; and Clark, Boyer, and Corcoran, 1983). For example, in his 1963 book Self-Renewal, Gardner makes the following observation on institutional responsibility for personal growth:

> Too often in the past we have designed systems to meet all kinds of exacting requirements except the requirement that they contribute to the fulfillment and growth of the participants.... It is essential that in the years ahead we undertake intensive analysis of the impact of the organization on the individual (pp. 63-64).

This view is clearly reflected in Maher's most recent statement on necessary conditions for institutional vitality in the 1980s:

> In essence, then, the quest for vitality might be said to focus on the capacity of the college or university to create and sustain the organizational strategies that support the continuing investment of energy by faculty and staff both in their own career and in the realization of the institution's mission (1982, p. 7).

In addition to the interaction of institutional and faculty vitality, notions of faculty vitality have a situational, contextual dimension that makes defining the concept difficult without taking into account institutional type and mission. Thus, for example, at a large, land-grant research-oriented institution where the mission is tripartite (i.e., teaching, research, and service), a draft position paper on planning strategies contains the following definition of faculty vitality:

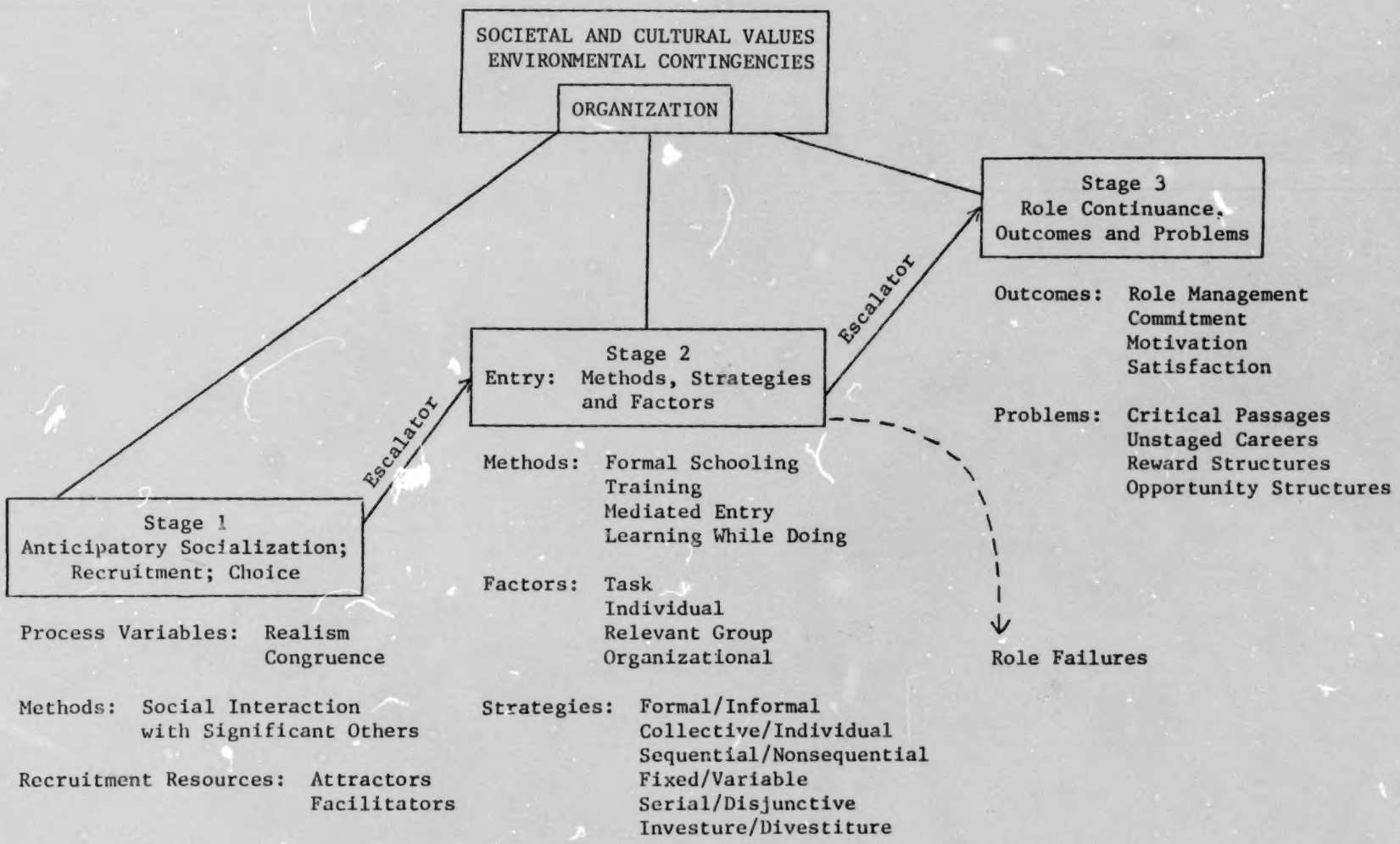
> A faculty is vital if it is continually creating important new knowledge and expanding our understanding of the world in which we live. A faculty is vital if the instructional programs of the University are continually being monitored and developed. A faculty is vital if there is a balance between innovative and traditional approaches to teaching and research. The University faculty is vital if it is responding to the needs of the state, the nation, and the world for new knowledge... Perhaps most important a faculty is vital if its members find their work stimulating, enjoyable, and satisfying (Planning Council, University of Minnesota, February 11, 1980, p. 4).

Career Socialization

Organizational theorists posit that cultural values and institutions mold personality and behavior through a process called socialization (Presthus, 1978). Presumably, the organizational socialization process continues throughout an individual's career (Erikson, 1950; Becker, 1964; Brim, 1966). Unfortunately, most of what we know about socialization of adults in their occupational milieu focusses only on the "breaking in" phase of role learning and not on the continuous or dynamic features of career in the organization as it evolves over the working lifetime. However, the learning and playing of role behaviors and the forming of adult occupational identities may be conceived as a connected three stage model within an organizational context as in Figure 1.

The career pre-entry stage is termed anticipatory socialization; it includes the process by which persons choose occupations and are recruited to them, gradually taking on the values of the group to which they aspire. Merton

Figure 1. Analysis of Professional Socialization Process in Organizations



(1957), Lortie (1975), Wheeler (1976), and Feldman (1976) have conceptualized the processes of preparatory learning, choice making, value assuming and reality congruence measuring that goes on. Occupations possess certain recruitment resources, attractors and facilitators, and they are subject to limitations and restrictions.

The second stage of occupational entry and induction includes or is preceded by formal schooling, preparation or training for the occupation, and/or mediated entry, and/or learning while doing. For the faculty member the focus is on extensive formal training in graduate school, which provides anticipatory socialization, a site for recruitment and through interactions, the facilitation of professional role commitment (Van Maanen, 1976; Weiss, 1981). Role failures may occur when the process fails to produce a metamorphosis; e.g., the probationary faculty member may be terminated for low scholarly productivity or poor teaching.

If all proceeds well, the third stage of role continuance is achieved. The new member has internalized role specifications, a sense of satisfaction with work and a high degree of job involvement and commitment. The individual is carried along within the structure of the career to later stages which may involve the maturing, more independent professional in sponsoring, socialization agent, organizational leadership roles and generative activities. However, the career route may not be safe, smooth and clear, particularly when careers became "unstaged," when reward and opportunity structures seem to offer less than was expected and when problematic elements of the organization's environment and broader social context intrude.

Faculty Generations

The use of generational groups as an organizing concept has long been characteristic of writers of a historical bent, but it has been limited largely to

demographers among social scientists. However, during the last ten years there has been increasing interest in the systematic study of cohort groups in a manner that focusses on the relationship between the life course and social change.

Building on approaches suggested by Riley et al. (1972) and Bess (1973) for charting stages in the life course of successive cohorts, significant events corresponding to the timing of key career stages of successive faculty cohorts may be compared in Figure 2. For example, comparison of the college and graduate school years for the 1950 and 1960 cohorts contrasts the dislocations of World War II and the GI return of the 1940s with the "Cold War" tensions of the 1950s, clearly very different environments for considering academic careers. Ten years later, the 1970 cohort experienced an expanding economy and education system of the 1960s during these critical career recruitment years, whereas the 1980 cohort (which we have not as yet studied) entered graduate school as the "declining" period of the 1970s set in.

STUDY DESIGN AND CONDUCT

A key decision in developing our study plan was that it would be an institutional case study. A qualitative approach, using extended interviews, seemed to fit best the exploratory nature of the research problem, the ambiguities and complexities of the concept of faculty vitality, and the relative accessibility of thoughtful and cooperative "expert" respondents. An institutional study focus followed from our emphasis on faculty vitality as involving individuals in specific institutional environments.

Interview Guide Development

The interview guide consisted of approximately fifty questions, almost all of which are open-ended. A few questions were adapted from other studies, for example, questions concerning research and teaching interests were adapted from

Figure 2. Major Events Corresponding to Life and Career Stages of Faculty "Generation" Cohorts*

	Major World & National Events	Higher Educ. Events	FACULTY COHORT* 1950	1960	1970	1980
1910	World War I					
1920	Expanding Economy Prohibition Stock Market Crash		Childhood			
1930	Depression New Deal Public Works Rise of Hitler		High School	Childhood		
1940	World War II Atomic Bomb Urban Exodus Rising Birth Rate	G.I. Bill Veterans on Campus	College (Military Service) Grad School	High School	Childhood	
1950	Korean War Cold War McCarthyism Peak Birthrate	"Silent Generation" Loyalty Oaths NDEA	Early Career Asst. Prof.	College Grad School	High School	Childhood
1960	Expanding Economy Civil Rights Act Vietnam War Declining Birthrate	Higher Ed. Acts Rapid Expansion, Stud. & Faculty Campus Unrest	Mid-Career Tenure Full Prof.	Early Career Mid-Career	College Grad School	High School
1970	Women's Movement The "Me" Decade Watergate Declining Economy	"New" Students Declining Rate of Expansion		Tenure Full Prof.	Early Career	College Grad School
1980	"High Tech" Unemployment Mid-East Tensions	Retrenchment Student Consumerism			Mid-Career Tenure Full Prof.	Early Career

Adapted from Bess (1973).

*Faculty cohorts have been defined in terms of doctoral year. The age of doctorate was estimated to be about thirty years.

Trow's Carnegie Commission on Higher Education study of faculty activities (1975); questions concerning aspects of professional socialization, career and work rewards, and the relevance of collegiality to performance were adapted from studies of teachers done by Lortie (1975). In several instances, other conceptualizations, e.g., the one life-one career imperative and the psychological sense of community (Sarason, 1977) or the ideas of opportunity and power structures (Kanter, 1979), stimulated development of questions. Specifically, question areas included: 1) the decision to pursue an academic career; 2) graduate school dimensions of career socialization; 3) career stages and socialization as a faculty member; 4) work interests and preference orientations; 5) dimensions of productivity and success; 6) morale, satisfaction and perceptions of change; and 7) appraisals and future considerations.

Study Samples

Interviews were conducted in two phases, the first in 1980-81 and the second in 1981-82. For Phase I a sample of 67 tenured faculty members who met criteria for inclusion into a highly active ideal type who continuously publish, teach and perform administrative and/or professional services at highly productive levels were selected.[1] Notwithstanding the conflicts and dysfunctions of the research oriented multiversity, there is much evidence that American colleges and universities judge each other and themselves against a standard of research preeminence (Trow, 1975) in their intense competition for institutional prestige (Light, 1974). Considerations of vitality, including the way the issue is framed, and ideal types of faculty careers do take this professional and insti-

[1]"Ideal type" is used here in the Weberian sense of the term. Such a type is assumed to have both normative and explanatory significance which derive from the assumption that values and norms formulated as part of it may influence the actions of participants in the social system under consideration (Parsons and Platt, p. 158).

tutional norm into account. For these reasons we decided to begin our study by investigating highly productive and vital faculty careers.

"Highly active" faculty were identified by broadly knowledgeable faculty and administrative colleagues in four sample sites: the College of Biological Sciences, the physical sciences and mathematics departments of the Institute of Technology, and the traditional social sciences and humanities departments of the College of Liberal Arts. At least two judges recommended each tenured associate or full professor nominated for inclusion. Sixty-three faculty, of those contacted, agreed to be interviewed.

Then in order to extend the exploratory inquiry of models of faculty vitality and as a basis for development of comparative data, stratified random samples of faculty were drawn from the same University colleges during Phase II, conducted 1981-82. A similar process was used to invite participation, and sixty-six interviews were completed. This sample was designated as the representative group.

The samples for both groups were stratified by rank and field so the percentages in these categories were similar by design. The representative and highly active groups were also similar in sex distribution; however, the highly active group included a larger proportion of younger faculty (27% in their thirties versus 17%), and fewer older faculty (34% were fifty or older versus 53%).

Data Analysis

In order to facilitate data analysis, the interview tapes were transcribed into verbatim typescript. Coding of both the interviews and respondent vitae was completed using an inductively-derived survey code which we developed to accomplish the empirical categorization of the responses. Interrater agreement exercises were undertaken to assure that the procedure met adequate standards of reliability.

STUDY FINDINGS

The findings of this study will be reported first with respect to career socialization patterns, contrasting the highly active group with the representative group. Within each of these groups, three faculty generational groups were identified in terms of career entry year. These career entry cohorts were based on doctoral year as follows: 1950 cohort (doctoral years 1946-54), 1960 cohort (1955-64), and 1970 cohort (1965-77).

Anticipatory Socialization, Recruitment and Choice

Several interview questions were designed to shed light on the dimensions of recruitment into the academic career and the anticipatory socialization that occurs through social interaction with others. In general, the decision to become a faculty member was made relatively late, typically during the undergraduate years, but not until after the undergraduate experience, as education continued, by a fair number. Among the significant others who influenced the decision were undergraduate teachers (by about two thirds) and graduate school faculty (by about one fourth). A larger percentage of the highly active group (25 percent compared with 10 percent of the representative group) grew up in families in which father and/or mother were faculty members, perhaps providing these individuals a more realistic anticipation of the role.

Attractors to the academic career, as given by our respondents, are shown in Table 1. Research was consistently the key attractor, second only to the opportunity to work with ideas for the highly active group. It also ranked high for the most recent cohort of the representative group, although for earlier generations it was less often mentioned than freedom or teaching. In both groups teaching declined in importance for successive cohorts, but "ideas and problem-solving" increased.

Table 1. Anticipatory Socialization, Recruitment and Choice

	Representative Group								Highly Active Group							
	to 1954 (N=8)		1955-64 (N=25)		1965 on (N=33)		Total (N=66)		to 1954 (N=12)		1955-64 (N=21)		1965 on (N=30)		Total (N=63)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Career attractors*																
Ideas, prob. solving	1	12	5	20	20	61	26	39	3	25	9	43	14	47	26	41
Freedom	3	38	13	52	10	30	26	39	4	33	6	29	5	17	18	29
Teaching	4	50	10	40	11	33	25	38	5	42	7	33	6	20	18	29
Research	2	25	3	12	12	36	17	26	4	33	7	33	11	37	22	35
Academic lifestyle	1	12	3	12	3	9	7	11	3	25	5	24	10	33	18	29
Competency	-	-	2	8	2	6	7	11	3	25	2	10	3	10	8	13
Dislike other careers	-	-	5	20	-	-	5	8	1	8	4	19	2	7	7	11
Work with students	-	-	-	-	2	6	2	3	3	25	3	14	3	10	9	14
Sense of fit with academic career*																
Enjoyment of role	1	12	9	36	14	42	24	36	1	8	5	24	13	43	19	30
Competence in teaching	1	12	7	28	11	33	19	29	4	33	9	43	10	33	20	37
Competence in research	3	38	5	20	6	18	14	21	3	25	5	24	2	7	10	16
Cognitive ability	1	12	1	4	7	21	9	14	-	-	4	19	3	10	7	11
Not aware of fit	2	29	-	-	2	6	4	5	-	-	2	10	10	33	3	5

*Multiple responses coded

Among the mechanisms which help move people toward certain types of work is sense of individual fit with occupational characteristics. We asked respondents what personal qualities of theirs they thought would fit well with the life of a faculty member as they understood it at the time they decided on this career. The responses displayed in Table 1 show an interesting contrast to the responses regarding career attractions; that is, more of the highly active group felt confident they would fit the teaching role than the research role of a faculty member. The most notable cohort difference is the frequency with which later cohorts thought that they would simply enjoy the role of being a faculty member with lesser emphasis on belief in their research competence.

We turn now to the work entry phase, which focusses on the graduate school experience, the role of the advisor/sponsor in post-doctoral performance, and the role of peers during entry socialization and after.

Entry: Methods, Strategies, and Factors

The formal preparation of a faculty member includes most importantly a graduate education which takes place at the department level of a research oriented university. The department inducts graduate students into the discipline, transmitting skills and knowledge and shaping their values and attitudes regarding the pursuit of knowledge and the faculty role.

The basic forms and functions of graduate education are similar across a wide range of disciplines in universities, but the actual processes are varied, among disciplines, among departments and even within departments among pairs of teachers and students. There are different contexts for learning and greatly different approaches taken by professors in the advising process. As Trow (1977) asserts, "This enormous variety in the actual processes of doctoral education is very little known or understood, even by academics themselves outside

their own disciplines and especially by the administrators, politicians, and civil servants who make policies affecting academic life" (p. 17).

After eliciting from our respondents information about what graduate schools they attended and how they were chosen, we asked them about the opportunities they had during graduate school to learn what a faculty member does. Slightly more than half of each group had teaching experience of some kind during their graduate study years. However, relative to research experiences, as a research assistant on a project for example, the difference was clearly in the direction of the highly active group. In addition to the mediated entry experiences of doing teaching and research, many recognized the anticipatory socialization value of observing their graduate school professors as they played their faculty roles. Furthermore, about a third of the highly active group suggested that they learned "what not to do" from the negative models their professors provided in teaching, research and service; fewer of the representative group mentioned their exposure to "negative learning" of the role.

Since the typical strategy in graduate school socialization involves both collective processing (students in groups) and individual modes (advisor guides students through their programs and dissertations individually), we asked questions about relationships with both advisors and peers. Respondents were asked to describe their advisors as faculty members and as advisors. As seen in Table 2, the most frequent evaluation was a positive one in the sense of the advisor's professional capacity. However, it is interesting that the highly active group more frequently noted a positive affective reaction. This is increasingly the case with successive cohorts in this group, increasing from 17 percent in the 1950 cohort to 33 percent of the most recent 1970 cohort. On the other hand, positive professional reactions remained quite consistent for the three cohorts. An affective relationship is theorized to facilitate this socialization process.

Table 2. Entry: Methods, Strategies and Factors

	Representative Group								Highly Active Group							
	to 1954 (N=8)		1955-64 (N=25)		1965 on (N=33)		Total (N=66)		to 1954 (N=12)		1955-64 (N=21)		1965 on (N=30)		Total (N=63)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Evaluation of faculty advisors																
Pos. reaction (prof.)	5	62	10	40	17	52	32	48	4	33	8	38	11	37	23	37
Pos. reaction (affect.)	-	-	3	12	4	12	7	11	2	17	5	24	10	33	17	27
Neutral	1	12	3	12	4	12	8	12	2	17	1	5	2	7	5	8
Negative	-	-	3	12	2	6	5	8	1	8	4	19	1	3	6	10
Post-degree help from advisor*																
Contin. gen. encourage.	3	38	11	44	11	33	25	38	-	-	2	10	7	23	9	14
Helped obtain subsequent position	2	25	5	20	5	15	12	18	4	33	9	43	8	27	21	33
Supp. grant appl. etc.	-	-	2	8	5	15	7	11	2	25	3	14	5	17	10	16
Research collaboration	1	12	-	-	6	18	7	11	1	8	6	29	4	13	11	17
Helped spread reputation	1	12	2	8	4	12	7	11	-	-	2	10	2	7	4	6
Critique/research on writing	1	12	1	4	3	9	5	8	1	8	4	19	4	13	9	14
Provided lecture/writing opportunity	1	12	-	-	4	12	5	8	2	17	2	10	2	7	6	10
Little or no help	3	38	9	36	8	24	20	30	4	33	5	24	9	30	18	29
Peer relations after graduate school																
Social contact only	1	12	13	52	12	36	26	39	-	-	6	29	5	17	11	17
Professionally helpful contact	1	12	3	12	12	36	16	24	5	42	6	29	15	50	26	41
Haven't maintained contact	2	25	3	12	4	12	9	14	1	8	1	5	1	3	3	5
First position: colleague expectations*																
For research	5	62	15	60	27	82	47	71	8	67	11	52	24	80	43	68
For teaching	5	62	14	56	19	58	38	58	4	33	9	43	16	53	29	46
For service	4	50	2	8	6	18	12	18	1	8	1	5	5	17	7	11

*multiple responses coded

Sponsorship has been and continues to be an important and frequently studied concept by sociologists such as Kanter (1978) and Reskin (1979). Sponsors use their power to help people advance in their careers. Accordingly, we were curious about the degree to which advisors served as sponsors to our respondents by providing career encouragement, help in obtaining a career entry position and other post degree career assistance. We found no definite group differences in academic career encouragement by advisors; however, more of the highly active group were offered positions directly by their advisors.

After the degree was completed and the respondents were in their first positions, as seen in Table 2, the representative group more often continued to receive general, informal encouragement from the advisors whereas the highly active group received more specific forms of encouragement such as help in obtaining subsequent positions, invitations to collaborate in research and writing, reviews and criticisms of their research and writing, and support of applications for grants and projects from their advisors.

Preliminary Analysis of peer relations during graduate school indicates that for the most part, informal discussions, exchanges of ideas, mutual stimulation and competition characterized these relationships. After graduate school, as noted in Table 2, the representative group more often maintained only social contact with peers, whereas the highly active group maintained professionally helpful contacts such as invitations to write, speak or collaborate, support for grant applications, help in obtaining employment and more regular exchanges at professional meetings.

Several questions dealt with career socialization as the individual moved through the early career stages. Of interest here are the expectations regarding performance placed on the "neophyte" by colleagues and by oneself.

Since universities, as faculty work is organized, are more professional than bureaucratic (Blau, 1973) we do not expect to find extensive written policies concerning faculty performance, rather we expect to find generalized understandings about performance norms which are often unstated in addition to being unwritten. Thus we were not surprised that about two thirds of each group of respondents indicated that performance expectations were neither explicit nor clear. When asked about the content of their colleagues expectations vis-a-vis faculty role activities, both groups most often reported that research activity was expected of them, as indicated in Table 2. However, greater proportions of the representative group responded that teaching and advising activities were expected of them; service expectations followed the same direction. There is an increasing awareness of specific expectations in general by the most recent cohorts, with particular, emphasis on research. Of course the accountability trend and litigious climate are forcing development of much more explicit and written policies on such matters as tenure and promotion criteria and standards these days.

We now move from the socialization process, particularly as the career entry and early career stages are affected, to factors in the continuance of the faculty role, some outcomes and problems.

Role Continuance, Outcomes and Problems

In opening a series of questions in the interview about the work interests and role preferences of these established faculty members, we asked whether their interests lay primarily in teaching or in research, a question used in the Carnegie Commission survey of faculty members (Trow, 1975). The preference patterns for the representative Minnesota group (See Table 3) were very similar to responses of a subgroup of the Carnegie study, drawn from high-quality universities (Fulton and Trow, 1974). However, the highly active group showed

Table 3. Role Continuance, Outcomes and Problems

	Representative Group								Highly Active Group							
	to 1954 (N=8)		1955-64 (N=25)		1965 on (N=33)		Total (N=66)		to 1954 (N=12)		1955-64 (N=21)		1965 on (N=30)		Total (N=63)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Work preferences: research vs teaching																
Heavily toward research	1	12	4	16	3	9	8	12	2	17	3	14	13	43	18	29
Both, leaning to research	3	38	10	40	17	52	30	45	6	50	13	62	12	40	31	49
Both, leaning to teaching	3	38	7	28	11	33	21	32	3	25	3	14	3	10	9	14
Heavily toward teaching	1	12	1	4	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
How hard do you work:																
Harder than others	1	12	6	24	14	42	21	32	7	58	12	57	22	73	43	68
About average	4	50	17	68	16	48	37	56	2	17	8	38	8	27	18	29
Less than average	1	12	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	2
Self-assessment: success compared to peers																
More successful	2	25	12	48	22	67	36	55	8	67	11	52	20	67	39	62
About the same	3	38	7	28	9	27	19	29	-	-	5	24	9	30	14	22
Varied	3	38	3	12	-	-	6	9	-	-	2	10	-	-	2	3
Less successful	-	-	1	4	1	3	2	3	1	8	-	-	-	-	1	2
Success attribution*																
Intelligence; personal ability	1	12	10	40	10	30	21	32	5	42	3	14	2	7	10	16
Worked harder	1	12	5	20	10	30	16	24	10	83	7	33	8	27	25	40
Institutional support	1	12	5	20	10	30	16	24	-	-	3	14	3	10	6	10
Lucky; fortuitous timing	1	12	4	16	7	21	12	18	6	50	7	33	7	23	20	32
Personal discipline; organization	2	25	2	8	5	15	9	14	1	8	-	-	1	3	2	3
Funding availability	1	12	1	4	2	6	4	6	1	8	4	19	2	7	7	11
Chose "right" field	-	-	1	4	3	9	4	6	-	-	1	5	3	10	4	6
Career satisfactions*																
Work with students	5	62	11	44	16	48	32	48	6	50	6	29	7	23	19	30
Work with ideas, problem solving	3	38	11	44	9	27	23	35	5	42	5	24	4	13	14	22
Freedom	5	62	6	24	7	21	18	27	6	50	9	43	8	27	23	36
Research	1	12	7	28	8	24	16	24	1	8	7	33	15	50	23	36
Academic life style	1	12	3	12	9	27	13	20	4	33	1	5	7	23	12	19
Teaching	1	12	5	10	6	18	12	18	2	17	6	29	2	7	10	16
Professional recognition	-	-	4	16	5	15	9	14	-	-	5	24	-	-	5	8

Table 3. Role Continuance, Outcomes and Problems (continued)

	Representative Group								Highly Active Group							
	to 1954 (N=8)		1955-64 (N=25)		1965 on (N=33)		Total (N=66)		to 1954 (N=12)		1955-64 (N=21)		1965 on (N=30)		Total (N=63)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Career dissatisfactions*																
Bureaucratic routines, committees	3	38	12	48	16	48	31	47	3	25	7	33	13	43	23	36
Lack of financial reward	1	12	2	8	12	36	15	23	1	8	-	-	9	30	10	16
Lack of influence	4	50	4	16	4	12	12	18	-	-	4	19	4	13	8	13
Routine aspects of teaching	-	-	4	16	6	18	10	15	1	8	6	29	9	30	16	25
Funding difficulties	1	12	1	4	6	18	8	12	-	-	4	19	3	10	7	11
Role fragmentation	-	-	4	16	1	3	5	8	2	17	5	24	7	23	14	22
Ever blocked in career?																
Never	2	25	14	56	19	58	35	53	5	42	10	48	13	43	28	44
Earlier; not now	3	38	6	24	7	21	16	24	4	33	7	33	8	27	19	30
Now	2	25	3	12	5	15	10	15	1	8	2	10	2	7	5	8
Perception of support of risk taking																
Discouraged	3	38	8	32	14	42	25	38	2	17	6	29	16	53	24	38
Under certain conditions	2	25	7	28	7	21	16	24	5	42	4	19	4	13	13	21
Personally indifferent to systems attitude	2	25	8	32	5	15	15	23	1	8	3	13	4	13	8	13
Neutral	1	12	2	8	6	18	9	14	2	17	7	33	5	17	14	22
Encouraged	-	-	5	20	4	12	9	14	2	17	2	10	1	3	5	8
Choose an academic career again?																
Yes (unqualified)	4	50	11	44	9	27	24	36	4	36	12	57	9	30	25	42
Yes (qualified)	1	12	7	28	13	39	21	32	5	45	4	19	9	30	18	31
Maybe	1	12	2	8	7	21	10	15	1	9	2	10	6	20	11	19
No	2	25	5	20	4	12	11	17	1	9	-	-	4	13	5	8

*Multiple responses coded

a much stronger bias towards the research end of the continuum, with 29 percent indicating that they are heavily oriented toward research. This was particularly so for the most recent cohort, the 1970 group, of whom 43 percent took that position. In contrast to the highly active group's heavy focus on research, one-third to over one-half of the representative cohort groups responded "Both, but leaning to research." Only a handful of respondents report exclusive interests in teaching.

One of the indicators of career commitment is investment of time and effort in work. Sustained motivation to perform one's roles is thought to arise out of professional socialization; an individual continues to perform at a high level because performance is congruent with one's value system. Faculty members generally, by self report, contribute long hours to their work. In each of our groups, the modal category reported time in work-related activities in an average academic year week was 50 to 59 hours, with nearly half of the highly active group reporting 60 hours or more. Further, as shown in Table 3, 68 percent of the highly active respondents estimated that they work harder than most of their colleagues, in sharp contrast to 32 percent of the representative group. Larger proportions of the 1970 cohorts than the others reported working harder than their colleagues, with 73 percent of the highly active 1970 cohort making this claim.

Not surprisingly, members of the highly active group tend to consider themselves to be more successful or much more successful than their peers (62 percent) as compared with 55 percent of the representative group (See Table 3). It is significant that the older cohorts of the representative group, perhaps reflecting mid-life career assessments, tended to report lesser levels of success. On the other hand, most of their counterparts in the group identified as highly active rated themselves as "more successful."

While the highly active group members most often attribute their success to hard work, they also, perhaps with some modesty, suggest that they have been "lucky." On the other hand, the representative group tended to offer different explanations including personal qualities such as high intelligence or institutional support as major contributing factors (See Table 3). Generations differed with respect to the notable decline among cohorts in the proportion of the later highly active group cohorts that attributed their success to their own intelligence and personal abilities. In general, they were more reticent in their attributions, but tended to focus more on external matters. Choosing the "right field," in combination with good timing, often mentioned in conjunction with being lucky, was more frequently noted by the most recent cohort than by other cohort groups.

Further selected findings which illuminate role continuance include data on career satisfactions and dissatisfactions are also shown in Table 3. Faculty studies frequently emphasize the importance of intrinsic motivational factors including opportunity to work with college age students, stimulating colleagues and associates, the intellectual atmosphere of the campus, and freedom to plan one's own time (Eckert and Stecklein, 1961; McKeachie, 1982).

Responses to two questions in our study with respect to satisfactions and dissatisfactions of career followed a similar pattern to previous studies with frequent mention of intrinsic aspects of academic work, such as the intellectual play of ideas, the attractions of research and teaching and of the academic life style. notably, its freedom, as satisfactions. (See Table 3.)

Respondents named considerably more satisfactions than dissatisfactions, as a rule. Group patterns of responses seem to be consistent in their directionality with other questions which have been presented earlier. Within the highly active group, satisfactions derived from freedom, working with students, problem

solving and research were most prominent. Although a similar pattern was found for the representative group, they seemed substantially more focussed on the satisfactions that come from working with students.

Career dissatisfactions of the two groups were reasonably similar with expressions of concern about the relative decline in financial rewards, aspects of teaching such as paper grading and repetition, and frustrations with "the way things must be done" (e.g., paperwork and bureaucracy). The highly active group complained of the splintering of energies and abilities into many roles and directions. This response seems clearly related to the efforts that this group has made to perform well in the entire range of functions. The aspects of teaching that this group noted as particularly unsatisfying were such things as repetitive teaching and grading of papers, which may reflect a feeling that time that should be given to their higher priority work of research and creative teaching is being wasted in routine activity.

Generational differences in satisfactions and dissatisfactions support the pattern observed previously, with increasing focus on research satisfactions by successive highly active cohorts, and decreasing emphasis on other categories. Successive cohorts also showed increasing dissatisfaction with administrative work and bureaucratic routines. The representative group cohorts, on the other hand, were relatively consistent in satisfactions and dissatisfactions. Significantly, the 1970 cohorts mentioned lack of financial reward as a dissatisfaction much more frequently than the earlier cohorts (36 percent of the representative group and 30 percent of the highly active group).

Finally, of selected findings which illuminate role continuance, we note that most of the faculty members consider themselves to be among the "moving" rather than the "stuck," to use Kanter's terms (1978, 1979). When asked, "Have you ever felt that you reached a certain level and became blocked or stuck in

your career, that you lacked opportunity or were unable to take advantage of opportunity to move ahead?", about half (53 percent) of the representative group responded that they have never felt that way. However, within this group, most of the oldest cohort did report that they have had such an experience, but most of them said it was no longer the case (38 percent, compared to 25 percent who reported that they now felt that way).

Reports of earlier career blockage were made by about the same proportion of the highly active cohorts (38 percent), but relatively few, 10 percent or less, said they felt so at the time of the interview. Most of those who have had such an experience seem to have been able to resolve the problem. When we probed for attribution of the blockage, both the highly active and representative groups more often referenced situational factors within the institution than personal factors.

A still more direct appraisal of institutional support was provided by perceptions as to how well the "system" supported risk-taking. Because this question relates most directly to the concept of vitality proposed by Gardner and others, responses were particularly disquieting. Considerably more of the faculty group thought that they were discouraged than encouraged (38 percent versus 14 percent of the representative group and 38 percent versus 8 percent of the highly active group). Qualified responses (e.g., only under certain conditions, such as when one had already proved oneself), were a frequent alternative, and others simply said they were personally indifferent to the system's attitude. The increasing frequency of "discouraged" perceptions in successive cohorts of the highly active group, with 53 percent of the 1970 cohort giving this response, merits further investigation.

Finally, would these mature professionals choose an academic career if they were starting over today? By and large they would. Responses follow the

expected direction: of the highly active group, 73 percent gave an unqualified or qualified yes response; 68 percent of the representative group answered similarly. However, the proportion of positive responses declined in successive cohorts of the highly active group, from 81 percent to 76 percent to 60 percent, whereas it remained relatively constant for the representative group.

SUMMARY

Selected data from an institutional case study of faculty vitality for two samples of senior faculty, a highly active group and a representative group at a large research-oriented land grant university, have been presented relative to the socialization framework outlined earlier. While the study is an exploratory one and its generalizability is limited to a specific institutional type, some clear patterns of faculty socialization and vitality outcomes emerged.

At each socialization stage, a general pattern emerged in which the socialization process most favorable to a research university was increasingly evident in successive cohorts of the highly active group, but particularly in the 1970 cohort. This group also reported work preferences and styles that indicate continuance of the role emphasis most oriented to continued effectiveness in a research university. The research dimension was salient in their careers from the anticipatory phase to the present mature stage. Research was a major attractor to the academic career. They understood that their colleagues expected them to engage in research and scholarly work, and their own interests and preferences ran strongly to research rather than to teaching. However, this salience of research in the career stream should not convey an absence of interest in teaching or in working with students. Rather what is important is the tilt of the career toward research in response to many different probes.

While in many ways the graduate advisors of all of these faculty members

generally provided direction and assistance to them, the highly active group seems to have had the advantage of a greater degree of sponsorship from their advisors whom they described with greater affect and as serving them in more professionally helpful ways. Relationships with graduate student peers functioned similarly.

These differing patterns of socialization coupled with the extraordinary engagement of the highly active group in their work, their comparative assessment of achievement of success and their perceptions of movement rather than stagnation in their careers suggest to us that career socialization patterns may shed considerable light on career vitality differences. The finding that the socialization to research is stronger, the more recent the cohort, is probably not surprising given changes in selection as well as research emphasis in graduate studies. However, the perceptions that risk-taking is discouraged raise troublesome questions with respect to the continued prospects for vital faculty.

Institutional Research Relevance

We conclude, as we began, with a statement of concern about the problematic conditions in higher education today as these affect faculty and institutional vitality. Since higher education's future is greatly dependent upon its faculty resources, renewed efforts to understand faculty careers in specific institutional contexts should result in informed strategies to enhance quality of performance, productivity, and satisfaction.

A number of policy-oriented questions may be framed from this study. Sponsorship, for example, seems to be vital for a successful academic career. Beyond the ascriptive aspects of the sponsor-advisor, such as the sponsor's eminence and productivity, what are the ways in which sponsors might have the greatest career-entry and long term career effects on their doctoral advisees? Are not

some kinds of help more instrumental to career success than others? What are the career consequences of the advisor's weighting of emphasis upon research more than teaching in setting expectations of graduate students? Should more systematic emphasis be placed on the mediated entry experiences of teaching and research during graduate study? Is it desirable and possible to intervene into the graduate student peer culture to enhance the long term professional advantages of the ties that emerge out of the shared ordeal?

How explicit should colleagues be in communicating with probationary faculty members regarding expectations of faculty performance for tenure, promotion and salary increases? Is it possible to recast reward structures in research-oriented universities to give teaching (especially of undergraduates) its proper due, and at the same time recognize the realities of a research prestige-driven reputational hierarchy in American higher education?

What interventions into the careers of middle life faculty members who feel stuck, experience a lack of opportunity, can be made to ward against the hypothesized consequences of the promotion or career-delayed status: disengagement, lowering of aspirations, demoralization, low productivity? Is it possible to sort out the effects of an inefficacious professional socialization process from the effects of an organization's reward and influence structure?

What actions might now be directed toward fostering the careers of promising faculty of the 1970 and 1980 cohorts? Salary improvement, certainly. But what additional types of organizational action might provide effective support for their continued progress?

One question may be, "Who should conduct such studies?" Studies of faculty members present problems for institutional researchers, notably their identification with administration (Corcoran, 1966). Yet, faculty vitality is so central

to institutional vitality, that colleges and universities do need to understand how their policies impact it.

Although institutional researchers may not have the resources for the extended type of interview study that we have conducted, they might use questions that we have raised in periodic assessments of faculty attitudes. Institutions might also sponsor a policy research program in which faculty and other researchers might be invited to present proposals for study of issues related to faculty vitality.

REFERENCES

Bacharach, Samuel and Edward J. Lawler. Power and Politics in Organizations. San Francisco: Josey-Bass, Inc. 1980.

Becker, Howard S. "Personal Changes in Adult Life." Sociometry, 27 (1964), 40-53.

Bess, James L. "Faculty and Student Life Cycles." Review of Educational Research, 43 (1973), 371-401.

Blau, Peter M. The Organization of Academic Work. New York: John Wiley, 1973.

Brim, Orville, Jr., and Stanton Wheeler, eds. Socialization After Childhood. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966.

Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education. Three Thousand Futures: The Next Twenty Years for Higher Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1980.

Centra, John. "Maintaining Faculty Vitality Through Faculty Development." In Darrell Lewis and Shirley Clark, eds., Faculty Vitality in American Higher Education, Unpublished manuscript, 1983.

Clark, Shirley, Carol M. Boyer, and Mary Corcoran. "Faculty and Institutional Vitality in Higher Education." In Darrell Lewis and Shirley Clark, eds., Faculty Vitality in American Higher Education. Unpublished manuscript, 1983.

Clark, Shirley M., and Mary Corcoran. "Professional Socialization and Faculty Career Vitality." Paper read at the American Educational Research Association in Montreal, Canada, in April, 1983.

Corcoran, Mary. "The Study of Faculty Members: Some Cautionary Verses." Research on Academic Input. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research, May, 1966, pp. 65-70.

Ebben, James and Thomas H. Maher. "Capturing Institutional Vitality." Paper presented at Association for Institutional Research Annual Forum at San Diego, California, in May, 1979.

Eckert, Ruth E., and John E, Stecklein. Job Motivations and Satisfactions of College Teachers. Washington DC: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1961.

Erikson, Erik H. Childhood and Society. New York: Norton and Co., 1950.

Feldman, Daniel, "A Contingency Theory of Socialization," Administrative Science Quarterly, 21 (September, 1976), 433-452.

Fulton, Oliver, and Martin Trow. "Research Activity in American Higher Education." Sociology of Education, 74(1) (Winter, 1974), 29-73.

Gardner, John W. Morale. New York: Norton, 1978.

Gardner, John W. Self-Renewal. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. "Changing the Shape of Work: Reform in Academe." Current Issues in Higher Education, 1 (1979), 3-10.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. Men and Women of the Corporation. New York: Basic Books, 1978.

Light, David. "Introduction: The Structure of the Academic Professions." Sociology of Education, 47(1), (Winter, 1974), 2-28.

Linnell, Robert H., and Marilla D. Svinicki. "Institutional Vitality and the Changing Needs of Society." Session 6-D, Eighteenth Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research. Annual Forum Proceedings. No. 1, May, 1978, p. 61.

Lortie, Dan C. Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Maher, Thomas H. "Institutional Vitality in Higher Education." AAHE & ERIC Research Currents, AAHE Bulletin, 34(10), (June, 1982).

McKeachie, Wilbert J. "Enhancing Productivity in Postsecondary Education." The Journal of Higher Education, 53(4), (July/August, 1982), 460-64.

Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe IL: The Free Press, 1957.

National Science Foundation Advisory Council. Report of Task Group #1: Continued Viability of Universities as Centers for Basic Research. Washington DC: October, 1978.

Parsons, Talcott, and Gerald Platt. The American University. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Peterson, Richard E., and D. E. Loye. Conversations Towards a Definition of Institutional Vitality. Princeton NJ: Educational Testing Service, 1967.

Planning Council. "A Proposal for a Study on 'The Future Vitality of the Faculties of the University.'" Memorandum to President C. Peter Magrath, University of Minnesota, February, 1980.

Presthus, Robert. The Organizational Society. Revised edition. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978.

Radner, R., and C. V. Kuh. Preserving a Lost Generation: Policies to Assure a Steady Flow of Young Scholars Until the Year 2000. Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1978.

Reskin, Barbara. "Academic Sponsorship and Scientist's Careers." Sociology of Education, 52 (July 1979), 129-46.

Riley, Matilda W. and Associates, Aging and Society. Vol. III: A Sociology of Age Stratification. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972.

Sarason, Seymour B. Work, Aging and Social Change: Professionals and the One Life-One Career Imperative. New York: The Free Press, 1977.

Trow, Martin. "Departments as Contexts for Teaching and Learning." In Dean E. McHenry and Associates, eds. Academic Departments. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1977, 12-33.

Trow, Martin, ed. Teachers and Students: Aspects of American Higher Education. A Volume of Essays Sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

Van Maanen, John. "Breaking In: Socialization to Work." In Robert Dubin, ed. Handbook of Work, Organization and Society. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1976, pp. 67-130.

Weiss, Carin S. "The Development of Professional Role Commitment Among Graduate Students." Human Relations, 34, 1 (1981), 13-31.

Wheeler, Stanton. "The Structure of Formally Organized Socialization Settings." In Orville G. Brim and Stanton Wheeler, eds. Socialization After Childhood. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966, pp, 53-116.